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ABSTRACT

Nonmigrants, returned migrants, migrants living in Cleveland ghettos, and migrants living in Cleveland suburbs were studied in order to: (1) examine social and sociopsychological characteristics of West Virginians living in their own state and in Cleveland and (2) test the hypothesis that in order to satisfy societal expectations in terms of income and level of living, people often, regardless of fitness, move to the city where implementation of such expectations may be possible. In 1968 close to 1,700 male respondents from these four groups, matched in terms of age and education, were interviewed for information on: age, education, and income; occupational patterns; visitation and settlement patterns; way of life preferences; religious beliefs and participation; attitudes toward progress; reference groups and life satisfaction; and alienation and physical health. Findings indicated that migrants first moved to the ghetto, but moved on to the suburbs as they gained skills and urban competence; suburbanites (who were physically healthier, slightly older, more educated, and more skilled) valued family life more than those who remained in the ghetto, saw society as more orderly, and felt more a part of it than people in the other three groups; and the two Cleveland groups felt more a part of society than did the West Virginia groups. (JC)

WEST VIRGINIANS IN THEIR OWN STATE AND IN CLEVELAND, OHIO

summary and conclusions of a comparative social study

ED106004

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APPALACHIAN CENTER
Information Report 3
WEST VIRGINIA UNIVERSITY

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contents

Introduction
Summary
- Age, Education and Income
- Occupational Patterns
- Visitation and Settlement Patterns

Ways of Life Preferences
Religious Beliefs and Participation
- Attitudes Toward Progress
- Reference Groups and Life Satisfaction

Alienation and Migration
- Alienation and Physical Health

Conclusion
Suggestions for Policy Making

INTRODUCTION

This summary has been extracted out of a monograph titled, *Social and Sociopsychological Characteristics of West Virginians in Their Own State and in Cleveland, Ohio.*[1] The original report, based on a comparative study of characteristics of four groups, has a twofold purpose: (1) to examine social and sociopsychological characteristics of West Virginians living in their own state and in Cleveland, Ohio; and (2) to test hypotheses dealing with migration and certain aspects of societal change in general. The more specific purpose of this report is to include the responses to all individual questions and summary score distributions of the questionnaire used so that marginal information and analysis will be readily available in a single document for further elaboration. Empirically, the study was based on a cluster random sample drawn from the state of West Virginia and two samples of West Virginia migrants in Cleveland, one in the so-called Appalachian ghetto of Cleveland, the other in the suburban communities adjacent to that area. Close to 1,700 male respondents were interviewed during 1968, including over 550 Cleveland respondents.

In order to justify the nature of the proposed hypotheses and analysis, change in rural Appalachia and migration in particular were examined through a comparison of the past and present, with emphasis on accelerated technological changes which have eliminated the isolation and, in turn, the semi-autonomy of the rural community and thus helped its incorporation into the mass society. To fulfill the expectations of the new mass society (especially expectations referring to the theme of the American culture which suggests higher income and level of living), a large number of mostly rural West Virginians have migrated to larger industrial centers where employment opportunities were available

While some of the over 900,000 West Virginians who migrated returned to West Virginia, the majority remained in the city. In Cleveland the majority live in the suburbs but some are

*division of personal and family development

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still in the ghetto, either because they are relatively new to Cleveland or feel more comfortable there. Marginal distributions, involving those West Virginians who never migrated, those who returned to their own state, those who remained in the ghetto and those who have moved to the suburbs, were used for comparison of these four groups. Furthermore, to control the influence of age and education, both factors known to be closely associated with migration, the four groups have been matched in terms of these variables.

[1]This monograph, produced by the present author, was printed by the Appalachian Center of West Virginia University in 1970, p. 240. The research study was supported by the Office of Manpower Research, Manpower Administration, U.S. Department of Labor.

SUMMARY

Age, Education and Income: As elsewhere, West Virginia migrants in Cleveland are younger than non-migrants and returned migrants. Futhermore, ghetto residents are much younger than migrants in the suburbs; in the 21 to 30 years of age category, 51 per cent are ghetto residents, only 20 per cent suburbanites (Table 1). Quite the opposite is true in the 31 to 40 age group, with 52 per cent suburbanites and only 25 per cent ghetto residents. Returned migrants have the largest proportion (26 per cent) of individuals over 60 years of age. The corresponding proportion of this age group for ghetto and suburbs are 4 and 1 per cent, respectively.

Migrants in Cleveland also differ in terms of education, with more people in the middle education (7 to 12 years) categories (Table 2). But again, suburbanites have a higher proportion (47 per cent) than ghetto residents (30 per cent) of respondents who either finished high school or were close to it. In general, migrants in Cleveland have the lowest proportion of individuals with less than six years of school and also the lowest proportion of individuals with over 12 years of education Compared to the suburbanites, however, ghetto residents, in general, have a higher proportion of respondents with lower than average education.

Less than 10 per cent of the respondents in all four groups had formal technical training. But among those with three or more years of technical training the largest proportion is among the suburbanites. Further, possibly because they value skill more and have more technical training, suburbanites, in spite of their higher education, are found to have less favorable attitudes toward formal education than the other three groups.

TABLE 1

Age for Non-Migrants, Returned Migrants, Ghetto and Suburbs for Total Groups Only

Age Category	*Total Groups*			
	Non-Migrants	*Returned Migrants*	*Ghetto*	*Suburb*
		Percent		
20 or under	1.2	0.9	8.7	1.0
21 to 30	9.9	12.1	42.8	19.5
31 to 40	19.6	15.9	25.0	51.8
41 to 50	26.6	23.7	11.3	26.1
51 to 60	21.5	21.1	8.7	5.6
61 to 70	12.6	16.4	3.5	1.0
over 70	8.6	9.9	0.0	0.0
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(876)	(232)	(167)	(386)

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TABLE 2

Education (in years) of Non-migrants, Returned Migrants, Ghetto and Suburbs for Total Group Only

Years Education	Total Groups			
	Non-Migrant	Returned Migrant	Ghetto	Suburb
	Percent			
3 or less	3.5	3.1	4.5	0.3
4–6	9.7	10.7	5.1	2.4
7–8	18.2	28.5	27.6	16.7
9–10	9.6	9.0	29.0	21.1
11–12	33.4	30.9	30.2	47.5
13–16	16.9	11.9	2.1	9.9
16 or more	8.7	5.9	1.5	2.1
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(890)	(235)	(167)	(383)

Over 90 per cent of returned migrants and suburbanites are married. The corresponding proportion for ghetto is 84 per cent. A little over 16 per cent of returned migrants and ghetto residents live with parents and relatives; the corresponding proportion for suburbs and non-migrants is lower. In addition, there are close to three times as many two-member families in the two West Virginia groups as compared to the two groups in Cleveland. On the other hand, there are quite a few more five to six member families among the two Cleveland groups as compared to West Virginia. Suburbanites have predominantly two to four children; the other groups are more dispersed. Further, ghetto and suburbs have about the same proportion of children who dropped out of school, about 10 per cent. But while the majority of suburban children drop out of the seventh grade, the majority of the ghetto young drop out earlier.

Excluding the over $14,000 income category, which usually includes professionals and large property owners, Cleveland migrants and, in particular, suburbanites have considerly higher income than the state of West Virginia as a whole (Table 3). Income differences become more pronounced when the four groups are matched in terms of age and education, so that even in the over $14,000 income category there are proportionately more suburbanites than non-migrants. The $9,000 to $14,000 income category has about three times as many (25 per cent) suburbanites as the other three groups. In the $5,000 to $9,000 category there are 61, 50, 37 and 34 per cent of suburbanites, ghetto residents, returned migrants and non-migrants, respectively; for the less than $5,000 income category the corresponding proportions for these groups are 12, 27, 34 and 28 per cent.

Besides income, suburbanites followed by non-migrants, have the highest level of living. Among suburbanites, non-migrants, returned migrants and ghetto, the corresponding proportion of those who have color television are 32, 13, 6 and 12 per cent, and of those who have wall-to-wall carpet, 61, 29, 22 and 20 per cent. But by matching the four groups in terms of age and education, ghetto residents become second in level of living and the rank order of the groups changes to: suburbanites, ghetto residents, returned migrants and non-migrants.

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TABLE 3

Annual Income for Non-Migrants, Returned Migrants, Ghetto and Suburgs for Total and Matched Groups

Income Category	Total Groups				Matched Groups			
	Non Migrants	Returned Migrants	Ghetto	Suburbs	Non-Migrants	Returned Migrants	Ghetto	Suburbs
	Percent				Percent			
$14,000 +	5.5	1.6	0.0	1.5	1.2	1.3	0.0	2.5
$ 9,000-12,999	14.1	7.9	6.5	25.1	7.2	6.7	6.7	25.2
$ 7,000- 8,999	10.3	11.2	18.5	28.1	10.2	10.7	24.0	23.9
$ 5,000- 6,999	23.7	25.7	31.5	33.1	36.1	36.0	29.3	33.7
$ 3,000- 4,999	18.8	19.1	16.7	9.1	25.4	21.3	24.0	11.0
$ 2,000- 2,999	10.1	8.3	10.7	0.5	9.1	5.3	8.0	0.6
$ 1,000- 1,999	6.3	10.4	5.4	0.2	3.6	8.0	1.3	0.6
Less than $1,000	11.2	15.8	10.7	2.3	7.2	10.7	6.7	2.5
$ 5,000 or more	53.6	46.4	56.5	87.9	54.7	54.7	60.0	85.3
4,999 or less	46.4	53.6	43.5	12.1	45.3	45.3	40.0	14.7
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(890)	(241)	(168)	(387)	(166)	(75)	(75)	(163)

Occupational Patterns: Technical skill, probably more than any other variable differentiates groups, particularly the three migrant ones. Returned migrants have the largest proportion of unskilled workers; ghetto, the largest proportion of semiskilled (two to three times as many as the other three groups); and suburbs, the largest proportion of skilled workers (about three times as many as the other three groups), (Table 4). Returned migrants, compared to the other two migrant groups have, by far, the largest proportion (11 per cent) of professionals. The corresponding proportions for ghetto and suburbs are 0.7 and 4 per cent respectively. In other words, professionals tend either to return to West Virginia or reside in areas other than those of high concentration of West Virginians included in our population universe.

The predominant occupation before coming to Cleveland is coal mining (32 per cent of the suburbanites, 25 per cent of the ghetto residents). Only about 5 per cent of the suburbanites, and 4 per cent of the ghetto residents have had a skill before they left West Virginia as compared to the present proportions of skilled workers, 32 per cent for suburbanites and 11 per cent for ghetto residents. In other words, a large proportion of skills which suburbanites now possess has been acquired in the city.

In the case of returned migrants, less than a third of them have held their first job less than six months, another third, seven months to three years, and the last third, more than three years. In general, about one-third of the returned migrants have spent only less than a year outside Appalachia, another third, two to four years, and only about 12 per cent have spent more than ten years outside. In addition, about 62 per cent of the returned migrants have worked outside the state of West Virginia only once.

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TABLE 4

Occupational Distributions for Non-Migrants, Returned Migrants, Ghetto and Suburbs for Total and Matched Groups

	Total Groups				Matched Groups			
Occupation	Non-Migrant	Returned Migrant	Ghetto	Suburb	Non-Migrant	Returned Migrant	Ghetto	Suburb
	Percent				Percent			
Unskilled	18.9	29.8	19.0	20.7	37.7	40.9	18.8	17.7
Semi-skilled	12.8	24.4	62.7	30.6	24.3	28.8	60.9	34.8
Skilled	8.2	12.5	11.1	32.2	11.5	7.6	13.0	35.4
White Collar	8.0	7.1	3.3	5.2	8.8	7.6	1.5	4.4
Managerial	4.9	4.8	2.5	5.9	5.4	4.5	4.3	5.7
Businessmen	3.8	2.4	0.0	0.8	3.4	6.1	0.0	1.3
Farmers	6.7	7.1	0.0	0.0	5.5	3.0	0.0	0.0
Professionals	11.5	10.7	0.7	4.3	2.7	1.5	1.5	0.7
Other	25.2	1.2	0.7	0.3	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(899)	(168)	(153)	(376)	(148)	(66)	(69)	(158)

By comparison, more than half of the suburbanites have the same jobs they had when they first came, while an additional 38 per cent have held only two or three jobs. Matched in terms of education and age, twice as many suburbanites as ghetto residents have kept the same job since they came to Cleveland; furthermore, close to 38 per cent of the ghetto residents have moved to their present jobs in the last six months, while only a little over 7 per cent of the suburbanites have recently acquired jobs. About 45 per cent of the suburbanites and 8 per cent of the ghetto residents have had their jobs 10 or more years. In other words, suburbanites, either because they have acquired a skill or they possess certain personality attributes, tend to be more job stable.

Suburbanites, in spite of the fact that altogether they have less job changes, have been in Cleveland much longer. About 24 per cent of the ghetto migrants and only 2 per cent of the suburbanites have been in Cleveland for less than a year. Still, a little more than half of the ghetto residents have been in Cleveland over six years and about a fourth over 10 years; about 60 per cent of the suburbanites have been in Cleveland more than 10 years.

As compared to West Virginia, migrants in Cleveland have the lowest proportion of unemployed and retired; the corresponding proportion for returned migrants, non-migrants, ghetto and suburbs are: 27, 25, 9 and 2 per cent respectively. About a third of the unemployed in the two West Virginia groups are retired, but there are very few retired people in the ghetto and in the suburbs in particular. Of those who are unemployed and not retired, about three-fourths in the three migrant groups receive some sort of assistance, but only one in ten is on welfare, excluding the suburbs which do not include welfare cases.

Visitation and Settlement Patterns: In the area of visitation and settlement patterns, close to 39 per cent of the ghetto migrant and 22 per cent of the suburbanites have never returned to West Virginia to resettle.

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The difference between the two groups becomes wider when the groups are matched in terms of age and education. Of those who have returned to West Virginia, about 70 per cent of ghetto respondents and 76 per cent of the suburbanites have returned for semi-temporary settlement only once. Forty per cent of the ghetto residents and 21 per cent of the suburbanites who returned staved less than six months, while about a third of both groups stayed six months to a year.

About 9 per cent of the ghetto residents and 7 per cent of the suburbanites do not go back to West Virginia for visits and about a fourth of each group usually go only once a year. On the other hand, 11 per cent of the former and 4 per cent of the latter go back for a visit more than 10 times a year. Relatives from West Virginia also visit the migrants in Cleveland. Quantitatively speaking, more than a third of the ghetto residents and a seventh of the suburbanites do not have relatives visiting them; however, approximately a third of each group has relatives visiting them once a year and about a fourth of each group has relatives visiting them two or three times each year. It can be noted here that these visiting patterns and semi-temporary settlements offer rural West Virginians additional opportunities for contact and mutual exchange with the new urbanites.

In addition, about 71 per cent of the ghetto residents and 36 per cent of the suburbanites have at least half of their relatives in West Virginia, but a considerable proportion of suburbanites—26 per cent—have none. It is speculated that suburbanites who have resided longer in Cleveland and are better established have brought their relatives to the city.

About 50 per cent of the suburbanites and 44 per cent of the ghetto migrants have one to five fellow West Virginia living within a radius of 100 yards (Table 5). However, about 30 per cent of ghetto residents and 15 per cent of the suburbanites do not even know if they have any West Virginia neighbors. West Virginians in Cleveland, especially ghetto residents, also tend to associate with other West Virginians. In particular, 68 per cent of the ghetto residents and 50 per cent of the suburbanites have West Virginians as their best friends (Table 6).

TABLE 5

Number of West Virginia Families Living Within a Radius of 100 Yards of Home for Ghetto and Suburbs, for Matched and Total Groups

	Total Groups		*Matched Groups*	
Number of Families	*Ghetto*	*Suburb*	*Ghetto*	*Suburb*
	Percent		*Percent*	
None	4.8	25.4	100.0	25.9
1-5	44.3	50.5	51.4	55.4
6-10	9.0	7.7	6.8	4.8
11-20	8.4	0.8	6.8	0.6
21-50	3.0	0.8	4.1	0.6
50 or more	0.6	0.0	1.4	0.0
Don't know	29.9	14.8	26.8	12.7
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(167)	(390)	(74)	(166)

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TABLE 6

Origin of First, Second and Third Best Firend in Cleveland for Ghetto and Suburbs

Origin of Friends	*Ghetto*			*Suburbs*		
	First	*Second*	*Third*	*First*	*Second*	*Third*
		Percent			*Percent*	
From West Virginia	66.7	62.0	62.0	49.5	43.4	37.6
From Other Appalachian States	12.7	16.5	20.3	18.5	23.6	22.8
Non-Appalachians	20.6	21.5	17.7	32.0	33.0	39.6
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(163)	(163)	(163)	(376)	(376)	(376)

Ways of Life Preferences: Nine different ways of life preferences which could imply value orientations have been used for comparison of the four groups (Figure 1). As shown in Figure 1, the profiles of the ranking of these nine preferences indicate similar overall patterns, although there are some distinct individual differences among the four groups. In all four groups religious and family orientation are the two styles of life which have been checked most often as primary preferences, and although religion ranks first

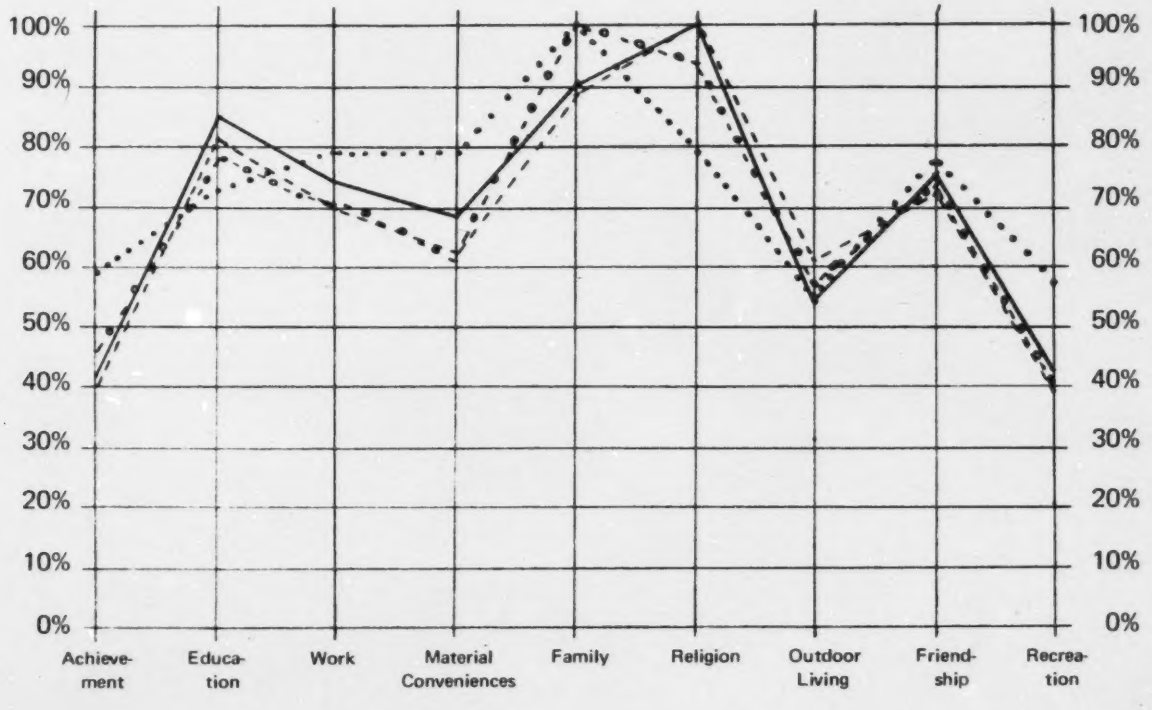

FIGURE 1. Value Orientation of Unmatched Groups
Non-migrant ——— Ghetto -·-·-·-
Returned Migrant _ _ Suburbs · · · ·

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for the two West Virginia groups, for the two Cleveland groups family ranks first and religion second. Education ranks third for all groups except for suburbanites, who place work in third place. Work, in fact, is the fourth ranking way of life among non-migrant but for the other three groups, friendship is the fourth ranking. Besides life in line with religion, family, education, work and friendship, which seem to be the most preferred styles, material comfort, recreation, achievement and outdoor living, which are also used in the same comparison, are preferred less by most of the respondents.

Religious Beliefs and Participation: Comparison of the four groups in relation to religious beliefs and participation shows that more than 90 per cent of the respondents in three of the groups say they believe there is a God who hears and answers prayers. The corresponding proportion is lower among suburbanites. Moreover, what differentiates suburbanites and ghetto residents most is the presence or absence of the belief (which indicates sectarian tendencies) that the world is soon coming to an end. Only 27 per cent of the suburbanites strongly or moderately agree with this statement (the lowest percentage among the four), while nearly 48 per cent of the ghetto (the highest percentage) agree. Both in terms of this particular question and the summary scale score (Table 7), the most religious group appears to be the ghetto residents, followed by returned migrants, non-migrants and suburbanites.

However, the extent of church participation does not follow the strength of belief pattern because it seems to be affected by length of residence in the community. For instance the proportion of those who participate frequently in church is: non-migrants, 55, returned migrants, 40, suburbs, 35, and ghetto, 13 per cent (Table 8). in other words, ghetto residents as relative newcomers to the community have the highest proportion of strong believers among the four groups and the lowest church participation. The opposite is true for non-migrants who have been in their communities for a long time and are more interested in the social rewards of participation than in the anxiety alleviating rewards of belief. The latter rewards, on the other hand, are probably needed more in the ghetto.

The two Cleveland groups include many more Baptists than the two West Virginia groups which include many more Methodists. Scores also indicate that in all four groups more people (in numbers) who changed the types of their churches, changed from non-sectarian to sectarian than otherwise; such difference is more pronounced in the two Cleveland groups. Furthermore, there are more sectarians among returned migrants than

TABLE 7

Orthodox Christian Beliefs for Non-Migrants, Returned Migrants, Ghetto and Suburbs for Matched and Total Groups

Degree of Agreement	*Total Groups*				*Total Groups*			
	Non-Migrant	*Returned Migrant*	*Ghetto*	*Suburb*	*Non-Migrant*	*Returned Migrant*	*Ghetto*	*Suburb*
	Percent				*Percent*			
High (20-23)	36.4	41.6	559.6	32.9	43.4	43.0	58.9	28.3
Medium (20-23)	39.0	39.8	27.8	36.5	38.9	44.5	30.9	42.8
Low (4-19)	24.6	18.6	12.6	30.6	17.7	12.5	10.2	28.9
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(823)	(226)	(151)	(389)	(152)	(72)	(68)	(166)

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TABLE 8

Frequency of Church Attendance for Non-Migrants, Returned Migrants, Ghetto and Suburbs tor Tttal and Matched Groups

Attendance	Total Groups				Matched Groups			
	Non-Migrant	Returned Migrant	Ghetto	Suburb	Non-Migrant	Returned Migrant	Ghetto	Suburb
	Percent				Percent			
Frequently	54.8	39.7	13.2	35.2	36.0	35.7	17.6	34.1
Occasionally	40.4	38.8	19.2	44.6	47.2	44.3	21.6	46.8
Not at all	4.8	21.5	67.6	20.2	16.8	20.0	60.8	19.1
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(775)	(224)	(168)	(298)	(161)	(70)	(74)	(126)

among any of the other three groups (Table 9). It is quite possible that many of these people return because they value heaven more than real life and so feel little pressure to achieve the level of living mass society expects.

TABLE 9

Sectarian and Non-sectarian Affiliation for Non-Migrants, Returned Migrants, Ghetto and Suburbs for Total and Matched Groups (only for church members)

Affiliation	Total Groups				Matched Groups			
	Non-Migrant	Returned Migrant	Ghetto	Suburb	Non-Migrant	Returned Migrant	Ghetto	Suburb
	Percent				Percent			
Sectarian	22.7	32.4	22.1	19.0	31.0	41.4	41.4	25.6
Non-Sectarian	77.3	67.6	77.9	81.0	69.0	58.6	84.6	74.4
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(740)	(185)	(77)	(226)	(129)	(58)	(39)	(90)

Attitudes Toward Progress: Concerning the present, as compared to preferences for life styles of earlier times, the majority of respondents from three groups (excluding returned migrants) and particularly suburbanites, strongly or moderately agree that life is better now than it was in any previous period. Still, about one in three suburbanites (about one in five for the other three groups) strongly or moderately agree that—with the exception of medical discoveries—progress is actually making people's lives miserable. In general, suburbanites have lower summary scores on the scale which measures attitudes toward progress and also have lower summary scores on the scale which measures achievement orientation (Table 10). For instance, 49 per cent of the suburbanites feel that getting ahead is one of the most important things in life, while the corresponding proportions for ghetto, returned migrants and suburbs are 65, 59, and 59 per cent. In contrast, returned migrants, who are supposed to be the least successful of all the groups studied, indicate much more favorable attitudes than the most successful group, the suburbanites. A similar

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situation has been observed among West Virginia youth.[2] The author found that school dropouts have higher achievement orientation scores than 4-H leaders. Also, both suburbanites and potential 4-H leaders appear to be more fatalistic about the future than the groups they were compared with.

Reference Groups and Life Satisfaction: As for attitudes toward Appalachia and the American society, larger proportions for returned migrants, as compared to non-migrants, see Appalachia as the place where one can be happy with a low income. In contrast, a large majority of West Virginia residents would like to see the state more like the rest of the country in terms of education, income, and businesslike attitudes, in that order. On the other hand, respondents are divided as to whether Appalachia should become like the rest of the country in terms of habits, customs, and attitudes toward life.

Along these same lines, reference groups were studied in the four groups. In terms of first choice for all four, the people one associates with by far make up the most important reference group, while the country as a whole appears to be second in importance. The latter seems to be a more important reference group for the three migrant groups as compared to non-migrants. But one's own community which ranked as the third reference group for all groups, seems to be more important for non-migrants and returned migrants than for the two Cleveland groups. (Community, however, seems to be more important for the suburbanites than for the ghetto).

Ghetto residents, then, do not use their own community as a reference group and do not have as favorable attitudes toward urban people as suburbanites do. For instance, 61 per cent of the ghetto residents and only 47 per cent of the suburbanites agree that "city people are often a bunch of wise guys."

Still, those migrants who returned to West Virginia did so not because they did not like city life or its people, but primarily because of the employment situation. By far, most respondents come back either because they found jobs in West Virginia or because they were laid off where they were working. Ghetto residents more than suburbanites are interested in returning to West Virginia if jobs are offered there. Still, 23 per cent of the ghetto residents and 32 per cent of the suburbanites are not interested in returning at all, while 25 per cent of the ghetto residents and 27 per cent of the suburbanites would return only if they made at least the wages

TABLE 10

Attitudes toward Achievement for Returned Migrants, Non-Migrants, Ghetto and Suburbs for Matched and Totals Groups

Degree of Agreement	*Total Groups*				*Total Groups*			
	Non-Migrant	*Returned Migrants*	*Ghetto*	*Suburb*	*Non-Migrant*	*Returned Migrant*	*Ghetto*	*Suburb*
	Percent				*Percent*			
High (40-49)	33.4	36.6	31.5	22.9	34.4	41.9	35.1	22.9
Medium (35-39)	30.6	30.3	29.0	23.7	25.7	24.4	28.4	21.7
Low (7-34)	36.0	33.1	39.5	53.4	39.9	33.7	36.5	55.4
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(858)	(235)	(162)	(389)	(163)	(74)	(74)	(166)

[2]Photiadis, Vargas, Unpublished results of 1965 Jackson's Mill Study, Division of Personal and Family Development, Behavioral Studies, West Virginia University.

0011

they are presently making in Cleveland (Table 11). However, 19 per cent of the ghetto residents and 15 per cent of the suburbanites would go back even if they only made 70 per cent, or in some cases even less, of their present wages. Futhermore, about 32 per cent of the suburbanites and 23 per cent of the ghetto residents would not come back even if they had 100 per cent of their Cleveland income. More people, again predominantly from the ghetto, would like to return to West Virginia when they retire—about 59 per cent of the ghetto residents and 42 per cent of the suburbanites (Table 12). Only about a fourth (17 per cent of the ghetto residents, 23 per cent of the suburbanites) would like to remain in Cleveland when they retire.

The two lower income migrant groups of returned migrants and ghetto residents whose members are more keen about returning to West Virginia seem to have more favorable attitudes toward welfare than non-migrants (Table 13). About 75 per cent of the respondents from the three migrant groups (the proportion from the non-migrant group is lower) feel that social security, unemployment compensation and other such welfare services are musts in today's changing world. Still, about 40 per cent of these people feel that public relief hurts the American way of life.

A little fewer than half of the migrants in Cleveland feel they have the same social status they had in West Virginia. Among the others, more respondents feel they have lost more status than they have gained by coming to Cleveland. The difference is not striking; however, more ghetto residents than suburbanites feel they lost status. About 37 per cent of the respondents in both groups feel they had higher than middlesocial status in West Virginia and about 16 percent felt that they had lower than middle class status. But in Cleveland, suburbanites perceive themselves with much higher status than ghetto residents because close to 30 per cent of the suburbanites feel they have above average status.

TABLE 11

Proportion of Present Weekly Wages in Cleveland Which Would Induce Return to West Virginia for Ghetto and Suburbs for Total and Matched Groups

Percent of Present Wage Required	*Total Groups*		*Matched Groups*	
	Ghetto	*Suburbs*	*Ghetto*	*Suburbs*
	Percent		*Percent*	
40.0	0.6	1.6	1.4	0.6
50.0	3.9	3.5	4.1	4.5
60.0	4.5	3.3	6.8	5.7
70.0	9.7	7.0	12.0	9.6
80.0	21.4	13.9	19.2	16.6
90.0	11.7	11.9	12.3	12.6
100.0	24.7	26.8	23.4	26.8
Don't want to return	23.5	32.0	20.5	33.6
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(154)	(369)	(73)	(157)

0012

TABLE 12

Place of Desired Future Retirement for Cleveland Ghetto and Suburbs for Total and Matched Groups

Place of Future Retirement	*Total Groups*		*Matched Groups*	
	Ghetto	*Suburbs*	*Ghetto*	*Suburbs*
	Percent		*Percent*	
West Virginia	59.0	42.3	59.5	45.8
Cleveland	13.3	23.3	10.8	16.3
Florida, Arizona, Colorado	15.1	22.8	13.4	22.3
Other	12.6	11.6	16.3	15.6
Total Percent	100.01	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(875)	(232)	(166)	(75)

TABLE 13

Attitudes Toward Welfare Services for Non-Migrants, Returned Migrants, Ghetto and Suburbs for Matched and Total Groups

Degree of Agreement	*Total Groups*				*Matched Groups*			
	Non-Migrant	*Returned Migrant*	*Ghetto*	*Suburb*	*Non-Migrant*	*Returned Migrant*	*Ghetto*	*Suburb*
	Percent				*Percent*			
High (26-35)	27.0	36.5	37.0	29.5	30.7	46.0	37.0	28.3
Medium (20-25)	41.0	38.7	40.7	42.5	45.7	32.5	42.5	47.0
Low (5-19)	32.0	24.8	22.3	28.0	23.6	21.5	20.5	24.7
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(863)	(233)	(162)	(389)	(160)	(74)	(73)	(166)

Only 15 per cent of the ghetto residents feel they have higher than average status in Cleveland and 18 per cent feel they have lower. Probably because of lower social expectations, ghetto residents are not bothered much more than suburbanites by loss of status; twenty-two per cent of the former and 19 per cent of the latter feel that loss of status bothers them either quite a bit or very much.

What seems to bother the Cleveland migrants more than anything else is adjustment to city life. Thirty-nine per cent of both suburbanites and ghetto residents feel that the nature of city life bothers them either very much or quite a bit. But more ghetto residents, as compared to suburbanites (26 versus 13 per cent) have checked the "very much" category. The next thing which seems to bother migrants quite strongly is absence of old friends and relatives; in particular, 56 per cent of the suburbanites and 50 per cent of the ghetto residents indicate that this bothered them. About a fourth of the respondents seem to be bothered quite a bit or very much

0013

because they were called names in Cleveland or because of the lower status Applachians generally have there. But only about one in ten mention being bothered because of adjustment to a less desirable job.

The two lower income groups, ghetto residents and returned migrants, are a little less satisfied with their economic positions than non-migrants and suburbanites. About a fourth of the respondents seem to be bothered quite a bit or very much because they are a little less satisfied with their economic positions than non-migrants and satisfied, expecially in relation to suburbanites, with the type of life their community can offer. Similarly, suburbanites are more satisfied with the styles of life of people around them than ghetto residents. In addition, the two Cleveland groups are less satisfied than the other two with the type of life the Appalachian region offers. Of the seven aspects of life, the kind of life this region can offer draws the lowest satisfaction score for all four groups. On the other hand, the type of life their own families offer has received the highest satisfaction score from all four groups. About 90 per cent of the respondents indicate they are either satisfied or very satisfied with their family life. In the light of these data, migration can be seen as an outlet people use to fulfill societal expectations and, in turn, to achieve self-satisfaction; thus, those who feel happier in Cleveland remain there, others return to West Virginia, and still others of the same age and education do not even attempt to migrate. Therefore, on the basis of the seven different aspects of life examined here, and excluding only a few situations, respondents from the four groups seem to be, similarly satisfied with life.

Alienation and Physical Health: Also examined was the common speculation that migrants are more alienated. On the basis of the alienation aspect (bewilderment and confusion as to what is going on in society today) measured here, our data show the opposite of the above speculation to be true; on the whole, migrants seem to be *less* bewildered and confused than people in West Virginia (Table 14). Mistrust in government officials, which could be also considered as an aspect of alienation, differentiates the four groups only on the basis of income and education, a correlation already established in other studies. Thus, suburbanites first and non-migrants second mistrust government officials less than the other two groups (Table 15). Ghetto residents seem to be the most mistrustful of all. For example, a little less than 60 per cent of respondents in the ghetto and returned migrant groups strongly or mod-

TABLE 14

Bewilderment and Confusion for Non-Migrants, Returned Migrants, Ghetto and Suburbs for Total and Matched Groups

Degree of Agreement	*Total Groups*				*Matched Groups*			
	Non-Migrants	*Returned Migrants*	*Ghetto*	*Suburb*	*Non-Migrants*	*Returned Migrants*	*Ghetto*	*Suburb*
	Percent				*Percent*			
High (35-42)	30.5	31.8	16.0	19.6	34.0	25.7	22.2	16.3
Medium (23-34)	37.4	42.2	57.8	45.4	48.7	50.0	50.0	48.0
Low (6-22)	32.1	26.0	26.2	35.0	24.3	25.6	27.8	35.7
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(444)	(230)	(149)	(388)	(156)	(74)	(72)	(165)

0014

TABLE 15

Mistrust in Government Officials for Non-Migrants, Returned Migrants, Ghetto and Suburbs for Matched and Total Groups

Degree of Agreement	*Total Groups*				*Matched Groups*			
	Non-Migrant	*Returned Migrant*	*Ghetto*	*Suburb*	*Non-Migrant*	*Returned Migrant*	*Ghetto*	*Suburb*
	Percent				*Percent*			
High (24-28)	33.2	43.4	48.8	30.2	37.0	40.5	47.9	28.9
Medium (15-23)	38.3	31.1	35.2	39.2	40.2	35.2	36.6	39.1
Low (4-14)	28.5	25.5	16.0	30.6	22.8	24.3	15.5	32.0
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.01	100.0
Total Cases	(867)	(235)	(156)	(388)	(162)	(74)	(71)	(166)

erately agree that "people who go into public office are usually out for all they can get."

Finally, our data show that feelings of bewilderment and confusion differentiated the four groups in the same manner as variables measuring need to alleviate the anxiety such feelings tend to produce. In contrast to studies elsewhere, attachment to religion and primary groups as a means of alleviating anxieties (indicating the needs migrants have to alleviate anxieties through attachment to religion and sectarianism in Particular) seems to be more important for the two West Virginia groups (Table 16). Returned migrants, as compared to all other groups, who tend to be the most sectarian of all groups, also tend to place the most importance on religion as a means of alleviating anxieties. The opposite is true for suburbanites. For instance, 50 per cent of the returned migrants and only 30 per cent of the suburbanites strongly or moderately agree that religion is what keeps them going. On the otherhand, attachment to the family to

TABLE 16

Primary Group and Religion as a Buffer to the Outside World Scale for Non-Migrants, Returned Migrants, Ghetto and Suburbs for Matched and Total Groups

Scale	*Total Groups*				*Matched Groups*			
	Non-Migrants	*Returned Migrant*	*Ghetto*	*Suburb*	*Non-Migrant*	*Returned Migrant*	*Ghetto*	*Suburb*
	Percent				*Percent*			
High (53-63)	35.6	38.1	30.8	28.2	38.5	35.6	37.9	25.2
Medium (41-52)	33.1	37.2	35.3	37.4	36.1	35.6	36.5	38.7
Low (9-40)	31.3	24.7	33.9	34.4	25.4	28.8	25.6	36.1
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(839)	(231)	(162)	(382)	(155)	(73)	(74)	(163)

0015

alleviate the anxieties modern society produces tends to be more important for suburbanites than the other group. But use only of primary groups, such as family, kin, friends, and neighbors, does not seem to differentiate the four groups. In general, attachment to God, family, or both, are the means which three out of four respondents of all groups agree are the most important for coping with the new society.

Although there seem to be only some differences among the four groups in terms of alienation and the need for alleviating anxieties (which can be seen as aspects of mental health), more differences are found in terms of physical health (Table 17). Migrants in both Cleveland groups feel much much healthier than non- migrant or returned migrants. On the other hand, returned migrants (who seem to have the poorest health of all groups) are shown to be healthier when the groups are matched in terms of age and education. It is probable that for many returned migrants poor health is associated with the older age tending to be characteristic of this group.

CONCLUSION

Data presented here support the proposition set forth at the beginning of this report that is order to satisfy societal expectations in terms of income and level of living, people often, regardless of fitness, move to the city where implementation of such expectations may be possible. In Cleveland, at least, people first move to the ghetto. As they secure new skills, both in terms of occupation and understanding of the urban culture, a considerable number move to the suburbs.

Suburbanites who are physically healthier, slightly older, more educated and skilled, and value family life more than those who remain in the ghetto, see society as more orderly and feel more part of it than people in the other three groups. In fact, suburbanites not only identify themseleves psychologically with the larger society, but tend, also, to behave and possess those attributes (such as level of living, income, church participation, and attitudes toward urbanites and toward certain social issues) which fit the urban middle and especially lower middle class stereotype. In other words, this group has entered the larger society with relatively full credentials.

Those who remain in the ghetto seem to be not only different in a number of ways from those in the suburbs but also different from those (at least of similar age and education) back home. They tend to be younger, predominantly semi-skilled, often newer in Cleveland and less stable in holding jobs than suburbanites.They have relatively high incomes but low levels of living. Moreover, they value material comfort and recreation less than the other groups and family

TABLE 17

Health Status Score for Non-Migrants, Returned Migrants, Ghetto and Suburbs for Total and Matched Groups

Health Scale	*Total Groups*				*Matched Groups*			
	Non-Migrant	*Returned Mirgrant*	*Ghetto*	*Suburb*	*Non-Migrant*	*Returned Migrant*	*Ghetto*	*Suburb*
	Percent				*Percent*			
High (8-9)	31.2	30.3	44.3	44.3	30.7	33.8	40.0	42.9
Medium (7)	37.5	26.1	37.1	39.3	44.6	36.4	29.3	41.0
Low (3-6)	31.5	43.6	18.6	16.4	24.7	29.8	30.7	16.1
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(887)	(241)	(167)	(384)	(166)	(74)	(75)	(161)

0016

life more than the West Virginia groups. In addition, they have stronger religious beliefs than the other three groups but participate less in church. In fact, they feel much less part of the community in Cleveland and use it less as a reference group. Similarly, although they have considerable contacts and large proportions of their relatives still in West Virginia, they do not like the Appalachian style of life as much as the two West Virginia groups do. But the ghetto residents' orientation is neither toward West Virginia nor their community as much as the other groups but, in certain respects, toward the larger society. In contrast to suburbanites and non-migrants, these people do not feel as much a part of the community and do not participate in church. Probably because orientation toward the larger society does not relieve anxiety as much as community and church, ghetto residents have more need than the other groups to become attached to something; thus, they may tend to be slightly stronger believers, although not as sectarian as returned migrants.

Different attributes characterize those who cannot take city life and have to return to Appalachia. These people tend to be older, unskilled and with lower incomes and levels of living than members of the other three groups. Although returned migrants rate achievement higher than the other groups, they primarily prefer a life in line with religion and, tend to be more sectarian. Still, among returned migrants there is a considerable number of professionals (10 per cent of the present sample) and a number of skilled workers who probably have attributes different from the rest of the sample of returned migrants.

In general, the two groups in Cleveland have higher incomes, are healthier physically, have more technical skills, like Appalachian life less, are more oriented toward the larger society and, in spite of the commonly held beliefs about alienation of migrants, feel more a part of society than the groups in West Virginia. It should be added here, however, that the opposite might be true for places other than Appalachia where better employment opportunities and, in turn, less social disorganization, exist. As compared to those in West Virginia, the migrants prefer family life more than life in line with religion and, in fact, need family life more than religious life in order to alleviate the anxieties scoietal changes produce.

In spite of considerable differences in income, health, style of life, opportunities, expectations, and value orientations, there are no differences in overall satisfaction with life among the four groups. Differences exist, but only among more particular aspects of life. For instance, the two low income groups (ghetto and returned migrants) are a little less satisfied with their community life. It should be emphasized here that migration on this basis could be seen not as an undesirable phenomemon but as an equilibrating process or as an outlet people use to fulfill societal expecations and, in turn, self-satisfaction. thus, after they are mobilized by societal pressures, those who feel happier in Cleveland remain there and-depending on their readiness and, in turn, expectations-stay in the ghetto or move to the suburbs. Others, with different potentials for adjustment and expectations, return to West Virginia, and still others of similar age and education do not migrate at all. In more general terms, then, migration could be seen in this light as adjustment to the new society, as vital process aiming to re-establish the equilibrium between the individual and his sociocultural environment that modern technological changes tend to upset.

SUGGESTIONS FOR POLICY MAKING*

If migration serves as an equilibrating process helping people fulfill expectations which the new mass media and contacts create, it would be unwise to keep the rural Appalachian in a hollow or community which does not offer opportunities to satisfy the societal expectations pressuring him. The alternative would be to either offer opportunities to these people in their own communities

*Written at the request of Howard Rosen, director of Manpower Research, of the Office of Manpower Policy, Evaluation and Research, U. S. Department of Labor, this section is not intended as a criticism of the policies of any particular agency.

0017

and their own environment or—particularly those who have difficulty adjusting to city life and work—prepare them for migration. For instance, excluding professionals, older retired people and some skilled workers who returned because they found satisfactory employment back home, there is among the returned migrants a core group with specific characteristics which programs of directed change should try to help. Initially, these returnees had the necessary motivation to undergo certain difficulties in order to raise their level of living to meet societal expectations, and might have adjusted to city life had they been prepared for it *before they left.*

Migration, at least as far as the present framework indicates, is not an undesirable process, but the opposite. What is necessary, however, is that policy makers understand the process and use this understanding to help those involved in it. For instance, as these data show, a lack of education and skill does not appear to be the only criterion which determines failure in the city; suburbanites who do well often lack them also. The preparation of potential migrants, therefore, should be conducted not only in terms of acquiring technical skill and formal education but also in terms of the needs of the individual's internal world. In other words, it is often necessary, that at least some individuals (in addition to consideration of their physical health) be given before or during their technical training whatever cultural or psychological preparation they need. The extent of such preparation could be determined on a more rational basis by the extent of support in terms of dollars these people would have needed to exist if they had failed to adjust to the city and returned home.

Returned migrants with such needs are probable quite different from non-migrants of the same age and education who are under some sort of assistance program. Besides having physical, mental or psychological shortcomings, some non-migrants turn to welfare because they have been socialized in families who see welfare as a way of life. For these people, training for skill and education should also be examined in the light of their internal world and, in turn, motivation. Considering the cost of supporting them now or later should they quit their jobs, under these conditions cultural or psychological preparation may be justifiable before training.

Looking at migration in the light of the present theoretical framework used to explain its causes, it becomes apparent that dislocations of people will continue and probably increase in the future. Technology as it is foreseen by experts, will generally continue changing at an accelerated rate, as will also its occupational social and psychological dislocating effects. At present, it appears that of all institutions of society, the government is the major institution with the power, flexibility, and above all responsibility to help dislocated parts of society. Appropriate government agencies, therefore, should plan with the understanding that rapid technological changes will in one form or another continue dislocating people occupationally, socially and psychologically. During the early years (the 1940's and early 1950's) of the great migration, millions of Appalachian migrants in industrial city ghettos went through ridicule and a series of discomforts without any serious attempt by any agency to help them. Because there was no agency of any magnitude authorized to help in this mass transition, it would be unwise to blame any single agency for failing to meet responsibilities which did not fall within its jurisdiction. Further, due to the speed of change, government or related agencies often have difficulties adjusting themselves even to those changes which directly fall into the area of their responsibility. As indicated in the earlier part of this report, regardless of responsibilities, older migrants in Cleveland complained that no one tried to help by telling them not to bring their families with them when they first came, to have some cash with them, to go to such and such agencies for employment, and after they secured jobs and rent suitable homes bring their families from Appalachia.

A simple elementary survey of the first migrants would have easily elicited the needed information. Back in Appalachia, however, the Extension service, which had the potential to help with preparation for migration, at that

0010

time concentrated primarily on changing people and raising their level of living so that they would fit the socially expected image. But the out-going migrant did not seem to fit into programs with aims such as these and was ignored. In Cleveland, on the other hand, there were employment agencies, but they were not geared to serving people with the characteristics of the early Appalachian migrants. Many migrants, in fact, were not aware of the existence of such agencies, although lack of understanding of the urban culture was as much of a need as need for employment. Today, however, the stem family which has some of its members entrenched in the city usually plays the helping role. In other words, at that time (and even today) there was no agency geared to helping with dislocations of this nature, and executives in the Department of Labor, Federal Extension Service, the Department of the Interior and the Department of Health, Education and Welfare were not aware of the reasons why people migrate and that out-migration would continue until some sort of equilibrium was established.

Even today, policy makers for a variety of reasons do not sufficiently utilize knowledge of overall societal processes in planning programs and setting up policies. While unemployment compensation, retraining programs, and some welfare functions are essential societal responses to the need for helping with dislocations, such services—as has been shown with the case of the Appalachian migrants and numerous other groups—are not sufficient today and probably, due to the possible increased speed of dislocation, will be even less sufficient in the future. Technology and, in turn, society change too fast to permit agencies to institutionalize procedures and ways of helping with dislocations on a continuous basis. From the theoretical point of view, what would be desirable is an agency or organization charged with coordinating activities aiming at helping the adjustment of dislocated groups *in the light of the conditions which led to the dislocation of the particular group.* This would, in turn, imply a need for a more or less realistic approach to the problem of adjustment of the dislocated group(s). In the case of the Appalachian migrant, for instance, considering the causes of migration analyzed in the previous pages, it becomes apparent that assistance for at least some of the migrants (such as those returned migrants mentioned above) would involve preparations *before* they leave Appalachia, assistance when they arrive in the city and later when they are on the job. Besides technical training, the latter could involve support of a sociocultural nature. A similar discussion could be carried out in relation to the adjustment of people of lower socio-economic strata in the city who are also under pressure to meet societal expectations they are not fully prepared to face.

The nature and diversity of the required assistance for the various groups makes it apparent that the coordinating agency proposed above could be, at least at the management level, highly sophisticated, flexible, and possibly linked in some way with institutions of higher learning and research. Since this proposition is based on the experiences of a single case study—the Appalachian migration—it may be unrealistic to present the above propositions. However, from the theoretical point of view, if one assumes that dislocations will continue at an accelerated rate, the proposed type of agency or organization or task force sounds more realistic.

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